

INDIA GOVERNMENT'S BUDGET HARD HITS THE PEOPLE

Sm. Indira Gandhi would have us believe that all the steps taken by her Government are directed towards ending poverty (Garibi hatao) and establishing an egalitarian society. Her Finance Minister, Y. B. Chavan, in the latest budget presented by him has presumably given ample proof of what Sm. Gandhi's egalitarian society actually means.

The tycoons, who fleece our people and are notorious for their anti-social activities like hoarding, black-marketing, price manipulation etc. etc., have been all praise for the 'socialist' budget presented by the Finance Minister. We quote below some comments made by these monopolists.

Mr. S. S. Kanoria, President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industries commented that the socialist orientation of fiscal policies was evident in the budget presented by Sri Chavan (vide Statesman dt. May 26. 71) Mr. R. P. Goenka, President of the Indian Chamber of Commerce commented "It is a progressive budget and is good for the common man." (Ibid) Mr. R. Lakhotia, Secretary of the forum of Free Enterprise, Calcutta centre commented that the budget was "an important milestone on the road to socialism of the type professed by the Government". Mr. R. R. Bhiuaniwalla, President Bharat Chamber of commerce said that on the whole there was a "risky socialist thrust even in the fiscal proposal" When these monopolists greet the budget as a socialist budget it is not difficult to realise its real implication.

The real implication it goes without saying, would be to exploit the common men more ruthlessly in order to fatten

the purse of the monopolists. And how will our common men be exploited more ruthlessly? We cite some examples. Excise duties on coarse and medium cloth have been raised from 3-6 paise to 4 paise per metre and from 4-8 paise to 6 paise respectively, on cigarettes excise duties have increased. For the first time excise duty at the rate of 10 paise per Kg. have been imposed on flour. It would fetch roughly Rs. 7 crores this year. Levy on Motor spirit has been proposed to be increased by 20 paise per litre. Excise duty on soap has been raised from 11.8 per cent to 15 percent. Scented hair oils have been brought under excise duties.

The some total of all these is that the cost of living of the middle class people and the poor would be higher without any corresponding increase in their earnings. In fact, the prices of many essential commodities have already increased steeply. Bread and loaf which now constitute a staple food for the people belonging to the lower rung of society have recorded increase in prices. Loaf which is now a thing of daily use has recorded increase in prices. So have scented oils, ready-made garments, course, medium and fine cloths, taxi-fares, etc. etc., hitting the common men hard. It is admitted on all

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Comrade Subodh Banerjee Exposes INDIRA'S ANTI-LABOUR STAND

At Delhi T. U. Conference

(By a Staff Reporter)

New Delhi :—A conference of the representatives of the principal trade unions in the country convened by the Union Government was held here on the 20th and 21st May last. The conference was inaugurated by the Prime Minister and presided over by the Union Labour Minister, Shri R. K. Khadilkar. Representatives from eleven Central Trade Union Organisations (some of which are, no doubt, spurious paper organisations) and seven National Federations of trade unions participated in the deliberation of the conference. Com. Subodh Banerjee and Com. Pritish Chanda attended the conference as delegate and adviser respectively on behalf of the U. T. U. C. (Lenin Sarani). The salient points of Com. Banerjee's speech in the conference are reproduced below.

"Mr. Chairman Sir,

We have before us three documents, the inaugural speech by the Prime Minister, your address as Chairman and the note prepared by your Department to serve as basis for discussion in the conference. At the outset I like to make it perfectly clear that our Organisation has basic differences with the approach and study of the problems facing the economy of our country as contained in these documents.

"The Prime Minister has spoken of her belief in radicalism. She has been talking of bringing about socialism and establishing egalitarian society

in the country. And how would she do it? In harmony with the monopolists. This is her own admission. I am here referring to her speech a few days back at the meeting of the Federation of the Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industries. There the Prime Minister requested the tycoons not to regard her Government as an enemy but as a friend. There she exhorted the monopolists to work in harmony with her Government to reach the common goal, the establishment of socialism here. What sort of radicalism is it? Even a child knows that socialist

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STOP INTERFERENCE IN CEYLON

In Ceylon a movement was launched by the followers of 'Che Guevara' as described by the Press, and belonging to the People's Liberation Front there, to oust the present Ceylonese Government and capture state power. It was also reported that the Government of Ceylon not only mobilised all its armed forces to suppress this struggle, but also sought and received military assistance from the imperialist powers like the U. S. A. and Great Britain and also from India, Yugoslavia, Pakistan and even from the Soviet Union.

Whatever might be the justifiability or otherwise of this struggle, there could be no doubt that it was an internal political problem of Ceylon to be settled by the people of Ceylon themselves.

Even if we refrain ourselves from making any observation on the correctness as to the nature and character of this struggle, one thing is certainly clear that the present Ceylonese regime is not a people's regime. Due to the exploitation perpetrated by this regime on the common masses of the people of Ceylon, the toiling people there have to suffer tremendous hardship and poverty resulting in rampant, deep dissatisfaction of the people about the present regime.

But we are constrained to note that while the Government of India have taken no effective step to stop the genocide in East Bengal perpetrated by the West Pak ruling military clique and in spite of persistent demands of the Indian people has still not recognised the Bangla Desh Government or given any arms aid or taken any resolution to this effect to help the freedom fighters there to repulse the wanton killing and dastardly attacks of the West Pak troops although its lip sympathy for this struggle is profusely expressed—it practically lost no time in responding to the call of Sm. Bandernaike for helping her to suppress the movement and unleash barbarous attack on the people of Ceylon to bring about normality there. As

reported in the Press, India Government sent five Indian frigates for sealing off the Ceylonese coastline, six low flying helicopters with eight pilots and a complement of technical staff, 150 Indian troops for guarding the Katyanayeka International Airport in Colombo, essential for maintaining the flow of foreign arms and sufficient military equipment to arm 5000 combat troops. It is very queer to note that the India Government, in spite of her so-called loud protests against barbarism of the West Pak rulers, has found some common cause with the same barbaric rulers of Pakistan along with the imperialist powers like the U. S. A. and Great Britain to defend the Ceylonese regime.

We strongly condemn this attitude of the India Government to interfere into the internal affairs of other countries. Its sending of troops and arms and equipment in the quickest possible time is not only violative of the principle of non-interference into the internal matters of other nations but chiefly aims at protecting its own business interests there which have been threatened by the present struggle in Ceylon some of its aims being to fight against 'Indian expansionism, British reaction and American imperialism'.

We strongly demand of the Government of India to desist from its practice of interfering into the internal affairs of other countries for safeguarding the foreign interests of Indian monopolists. We also demand that the imperialist powers and other countries must immediately stop their intervention into the affairs of Ceylon and withdraw all their military aid already given to the Ceylonese Government for cruelly suppressing the struggle there. The people of Ceylon must be left completely free to decide their own future and lead their country to peace, prosperity and progress.

Centre not to Displease Monopolists

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society can never be established in harmony with the monopolists. Nevertheless she holds such an absurd view. Then again, much has been sought to be made out of nationalisation of Banks, Life Insurance, General Insurance and some other industries. It must be told here and now that under capitalism nationalisation of industries is not socialism. It is done by the bourgeoisie of the country concerned in the aggregate interests of capitalism there. Without the destruction of the capitalist state structure and replacement of the capitalist relations of production by socialist relations of production there cannot be socialism. In the light of this correct teaching of political economy the implication of nationalisation of Banks, Insurance, etc. in India is to be understood.

"We have seen here a lot of tears being shed over the pitiable condition of the unemployed. The Prime Minister in her speech has said that it is a privilege in our country to be employed. Is it not self-indictment? Right to work is a fundamental right of the people. The Indian Constitution has not, of course, recognised this fundamental right of the people and that exposes its anti-people character. I am not going to enter into that question. One of the speakers here has estimated that the number of unemployed persons here would be about 2 crores. This is definitely an under-estimation; the actual figure of totally unemployed and disguised unemployed persons in our country would be many times the 2 crores. Be that as it may, it is an undeniable fact that unemployment problem in India has assumed alarming proportions. But what is the root cause of it?

Can you deny that unemployment and under-employment are the concomitant evils of capitalist system more so in the present state of world capitalist economy marked by complete absence of even the relative stability of market which world capitalism, notwithstanding its general crisis, used to enjoy till the Second World War? Is it not a fact that due to this basic reason even highly industrialised capitalist countries, like the U.S.A., Great Britain, etc., are suffering from serious unemployment problems at present? So long as existing capitalist order in our country will continue to exist, there will be unemployment and under-employment. To talk of solving unemployment problem under capitalism is, therefore, all bunkum; only under socialism will unemployment and under-employment problems find permanent and real solution. So, what best you can do is to adopt some palliative measures. But are you ready to do that? Are you ready to ban closure of mills, factories, mines, plantations and other establishments? Can you ensure full utilisation of the installed capacities of the industries? Are you agreeable to postpone automation of table-work which has already rendered thousands of workmen unemployed and dangerously curtailed the employment potential in our country? If you can take courage in both hands and carry on these measures then you can at least do some service to the people. But I think, the Union Government cannot displease their friends, the monopolists, by adopting these measures."

"Now about production and productivity. It is really unfortunate that efforts have been made by the Government side to lay all blame on the working class of our country for slow rate of economic growth, fall in production and

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Wage Freeze a Plot to Exploit Workers More Ruthlessly

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low productivity. You and the Prime Minister have urged upon the workers to give more production. I must say with all the force that I command that for slow rate of economic growth, fall in production and low productivity the workers are not at all responsible. Workers are never against production. It is your capitalist economy that is working as a severe brake upon faster economic growth, rapid industrialisation, increased production and high productivity. The working class as the most revolutionary force wants to remove this brake and open the door of uninterrupted social progress by doing away with the anachronistic capitalist order. For the present I leave aside this basic question. You are asking the working class to produce more. But may I ask you why the installed capacities of the industries are not being fully utilised? Is it not a fact that in some of the branches of the engineering industry as high as 60 per cent of the total installed capacities are remaining idle? Certainly the workers have not demanded non-utilisation of installed capacities; on the contrary, they have been demanding full utilisation. Why then this huge wastage of non-utilisation of full installed capacities? The villain of the piece is again your capitalist economy. Capitalist production is based on market for maximum profit. But the market is very contracted because of incredibly low purchasing power of the people thanks to failure to introduce radical land reforms, low wages, extortionate taxation, etc. etc. Rent with mounting crisis, economic recession coming abnormally faster than before, bringing in its wake an increasing tendency of decay and stagnation, your capitalist

economy is at present incapable of carrying on industrial revolution and ensuring sufficient production. This reality should in all fairness, be admitted. The V I P's very often raise the slogan of 'Produce or Perish'. The workers in good faith responded to your call. And what has been the result? Production rose but did not find ready market. Closure of mills and factories followed; thousands of workers were retrenched and laid off. Do you not know that more than two lakhs of jute mill workers have lost their employment because of their 'foolishness' to respond to the slogan of 'Produce or Perish'. In fact, the slogan turned out to be 'Produce and Perish'. It should also be realised that production *Ipso facto* does not bring betterment of the condition of the people. For, under capitalism accumulation of wealth does not necessarily mean welfare of the people. During the post-independence period there has been increase in production but this has not brought about corresponding improvement in the condition of living, material and cultural, of our people. Where about one dozen and a half of monopoly Houses appropriate among themselves about 60 per cent of the total National income how can increased production mean betterment of the condition of the half-clad half-starved toiling masses?"

"It has been suggested that to control prices and check inflation the wages of the workers should be frozen or at least they should be linked with productivity. We are dead against this suggestion. It should be realised that under capitalism wages do not make prices. It is the monopolists and the Government that repeat the rejected argument that high wages lead to inflation.

Increased production is not the way out nor is freezing of wages. Since 1947 there has been increase in production; but has it curbed inflation and brought down prices? Certainly not; inflation has become more pronounced and prices have shot up many times. As a result, the real wages of the workers have fallen though in terms of rupees the wages have risen. It is price manipulation by the monopolist speculators through creation of artificial scarcity of essential commodities, black marketing, coupled with the anti-people fiscal and economic policies of the Government that is mainly responsible for present high prices. It has been our experience that the higher the prices of essential commodities, the greater is the suffering of the labouring population in as much as full neutralisation of the increased cost of living due to higher prices is never made in fixing wages. The bogey that higher wages mean inflation is a subterfuge to freeze wages and more ruthlessly exploit the working class. You check inflation and bring down prices and the workers may not ask for immediate more wages even though they will still have to struggle for the demand for constant upgrading of the standard of living and consequent rise in real wages."

"The note circulated by your Department has stated so much on the necessity of creating strife-free atmosphere in the realm of industrial relations. It seems that you do not like the word, strike. In its place you have used the word, strife. The essence, however, remains the same, the change in the use of terms notwithstanding. Strikes are not just play-things to the workers. Questions of starvation and premature death not only of themselves but also of the members of their families are linked up with strikes. So, unless forced by circumstances

the workers do not resort to strikes. This should better be realised. Under capitalism the right to strike is an inalienable right of the workers. On no consideration can this right be sacrificed. We are dead against any move to curtail or take away the right to strike. If you really want to bring down the number of strikes, you compel the management to stop increasing onslaughts on the working and living conditions of the workers and prevent police interference in legitimate democratic trade union movements in our country which the Police more often than not does on the plea of maintaining law and order. Are you ready to advise the Government to repeal black laws like the Maintenance of Essential Services Act, Maintenance of Internal Security Ordinance for preventive detention and various other laws, rules and orders under which strikes are declared illegal and workers punished for participation in strikes?"

"Two more points and I finish. Collective bargaining should be recognised as the only method of settling industrial disputes. Compulsory conciliation, arbitration or adjudication by the Government must be stopped. The workers being the weaker party in the industrial dispute, the Government should come to its assistance and intervene in an industrial dispute only when the workers themselves want such an intervention. In no other case should the Government interfere or intervene."

"We strongly feel that recognition of union by the employer must be made compulsory. If more than one unions exist the most representative union should be recognised. The method of determining the strength of the unions should be by secret ballot of all the workers in the establishment or the industry concerned, as the case may be. But we are opposed to the proposition that the recognised union should be made the sole bargaining agent unless the other unions are nominal and paper organisations. If a union with 51 per cent strength is made the sole bargaining agent bypassing the claim of another union with 49 per cent strength, it would be a butchery of trade union democracy, against genuine interests of the workers and defeat the very purpose of recognition. All Central Trade Union Organisations should be recognised by the Central Government."

JUDICIAL ENQUIRY INTO DUM DUM JAIL MURDERS URGED

(By a Staff Reporters)

On the 14th of May last 15 undertrial prisoners and detenues at Dum Dum Central Jail were killed and 72 others seriously injured as a result of firing and lathi charge by the warders and jail authorities.

This barbarous attack resulting in death and serious physical injury of political workers detained without trial and undertrial political prisoners is not the first of its kind in West Bengal. Of late this type of attack has increased in number. Prior to the cold blooded murder in Dum Dum jail such things took place in Siliguri, Midnapore, Calcutta Presidency, Berhampore, Jalpaiguri, Howrah and some other jails. Report goes that there is a deep laid conspiracy behind all that attacks in which the CPI (M)-led warders' union has a hand.

We are not sure of the correctness or otherwise of the report. But in any event the matter is so serious that it requires a thorough probe by an impartial body. It is no doubt impossible to have a really impartial body in the prevailing situation. Even then a judicial enquiry would be much better than a departmental administrative enquiry. Such

an enquiry by a judge is certainly called for immediately.

Under the auspices of the West Bengal branch of the Democratic Students' Organisation (D. S. O.) and the Democratic Youth Organisation (D. Y. O.) a convention was held at Calcutta under the presidentship of Com. Chhaya Mukherjee. The well attended convention of students and youths unanimously adopted a resolution strongly condemning the dastardly attack and brutal murder of political workers in jails and demanded a judicial enquiry into the whole affair. After the convention the students and youths brought out a procession which, violating the order of Sec. 144 Cr. P.C., went upto the Writers' Buildings and handed a memorandum to the Chief Minister of the State. It is reported that the Chief Minister assured them of judicial enquiry into the matter.

ASCON WORKERS STRIKE

The employees of ASCON Worker's Union, Assam affiliated to U.T.U.C. (Lenin Sarani) went on strike from 15th May last. The employees have been agitating for the last six months for redressal of their just and legitimate minimum demands. They also resorted to taken strikes four times during this period for the unilateral breach of agreement on the part of the management.

But the management was adamant and resorted to anti employee activities one after another. This attitude of management forced the employees of ASCON to resort to indefinite strike till the demands were fully met. Ultimately the management was compelled to sign an agreement accepting all the demands of the employees. The employees also resumed work on 29th May.

CISF & CRP ASSAULT ON DURGAPUR WORKERS

At least 16 employees of the Durgapur Steel plant were seriously injured when the Central Industrial Security Force (CISF) and the CRP stationed at Durgapur unleashed barbarous attacks on DSP workers on June 1 and 2.

The severe assaults on DSP workers, however repulsive they may seem to be to an outsider, have not come as a surprise to DSP employees. Actually to them, it was sure to come upon them, they knew, only they did not know the time.

The management of the Durgapur Steel Plant recently took a "bold" decision to boost up production. And this "whip up the workers" plan was hatched as a part and parcel of the "boost up the production." The present lords and babous of Durgapur believe, like their predecessors of the mediaeval age that a regular flogging of the slaves is necessary to squeeze more work out of them.

Strongly condemning this dastardly attacks on DSP employees, Comrade Badsha Khan, Secretary of the Burdwan Dist. SUCI and the well known trade union leader of Durgapur issued statement urging upon all workers and all democratic organisations to forge solid unity to frustrate this 'whip up the workers to boost up the production' policy of the DSP management.

He also demanded immediate suspension of the guilty C. I. S. F. & C. R. P. officers, judicial enquiry to probe in to the untoward incidents and stop its recurrence, no victimisation of any worker and full compensation to all injured persons.

Orissa Cement Workers' Meeting

(By A Staff Reporter)

Addressing a meeting held under the joint auspices of Orissa Cement Workers Union and Rajgangpur unit of the S. U. C. I. on 30.5.71 at Rajgangpur Suta Kal Maidan, Sk. Qasim, leader of the Workers Union, sharply criticised the O. C. L. management and the contractors for their brutal oppression on the workers. He called upon the workers to unitedly fight against the O. C. L. management and the contractors and also to unmask the P. S. P.'s opportunism in trade union movement.

Com. Bisnu Pada Dash narrated the specific problems of the Rajgangpur workers.

Prof. N.R. Singh, who was the main speaker of the day, in his speech explained why the possibility of developing a mighty Left democratic movement, which had a favourable condition after the 1967 general election, fizzled out due to the wrong policies pursued by the CPI and the CPI (M).

The Congress (R) which had no fundamental difference with the former united Congress

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Press Clippings

Both wings of the Congress, the right wing social-democrats, parties of extreme right reaction like the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party, and other reactionaries in our country have been carrying on a propaganda that China is supporting Pak-army action against Bangla Desh people fighting for national independence. The Communist Party of India and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) also are dancing to this tune. For the present we desist from giving our opinion on this question but limit ourselves to publishing some reports and comments which had appeared in the bourgeois press, that is, of course, no friend of China.

The Hindustan standard in an editorial published in its issue dated April 10 last commented,.

...Even the attitude of Peking which has endorsed the official Pakistani view that what happens in Bangla Desh is Islamabad's own affair is not a complete vindication of its stand. For China has not condemned either SK. Mujibur Rahman or the Awami League. More it has not denounced East Bengal's freedom struggle.....And by not saying a word against the freedom fighter of Bangla Desh Peking has tacitly admitted the validity of their case.

* * *

On March 29 last some persons demonstrated against the Chinese leaders in front of the Chinese Embassy gate at New Delhi and China sent a protest note against it. The Hindustan Times in its issue dated 14-4-71 last commented as follows.

"In this note the demonstrators are not as usual referred to as 'hooligans' or 'bandits', but simply as 'Indians.' In addition Peking does not criticise the participants for having demonstrated, but for having 'slandered' China by accusing Peking of 'helping the Pakistani Government' in its war against the 'freedom-loving' people of East BengalPeking's neutrality is

underlined by the fact that on the one hand it uses the words 'freedom-loving' to describe the Bengali people, but on the other hand places these words in quotes attributing them to one of the many placards placed before the Embassy by the demonstrators."

* * *

Then we refer to the comments by the Political correspondent and the special Representative of the statesman published in that daily dated April 14, 1971. "China has made it clear beyond doubt of its full support to General Yahya Khan in the West Pakistan Army's action in East Bengal. This is borne out by an article in the People's Daily on Sunday under the pseudonym of 'COMMENTRATOR,' a traditional Chinese method of expressing authoritative views. Two things stand out in the article. India is charged with interfering in East Pakistan's affairs and with colluding with super Powers. Secondly, the major thrust of the Chinese attack is also against the Soviet Union a point underlined by a dig at the Soviet Union for its intervention in Czechoslovakia. The People's Daily has signified Chinese support for Islamabad in the following words. 'The Chinese Government and people will always vehemently

support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle for safeguarding national independence and State sovereignty and against foreign aggression and interference."

* * *

The Special Representative commented thereon as follows: "In midnight broadcast on Monday, monitored in Calcutta, Peking Radio obliquely referred to the events in Bangla Desh in its 'weekly review of international events.' The main point that the Radio highlighted was 'Indian interference in Pakistan's internal events.' Not a word was said about Pakistan Radio's claim that the Prime Minister, Mr. Chou En-lai had given an assurance to Pakistan that China would provide all help to her to safeguard Pakistan's sovereignty and integrity. Peking Radio also did not mention the Pakistani Army action against the popular uprising there. The Radio repeated the Pakistani Martial law Authorities' allegation against India about the latter's interference in East Pakistan."

* * *

The Amrita Bazar Patrika in its issue dated April 15 last commented as follows on the same. "European experts on Chinese affairs, however, believe that China has decided to remain 'neutral' in the war between West and East Pakistan, says AEP from Paris. The opinion of these specialists is radically different from that of both the Indian and the Pakistani Press and even of official circles in the two countries.....But in fact, an analysis of the telegram sent to Pakistani President Yahya Khan by Chinese Premier Chou En-lai, parts of which published in Rawalpindi yesterday, show that the Chinese leader does not really come out for West Pakistan against the Bengalees but simply attacks India. By stating that China will stand by Pakistan 'should Indian

expansionist dare to launch aggression against Pakistan,' Mr. Chou resembles a doctor who tells a man suffering from a heart disease, 'don't worry. I'll cure your liver,' 'While adopting a wait-and-see attitude toward the internal Pakistani crisis, China does not hide its aggressive attitude towards India.'

* * *

We are confident that intelligent readers will be able to draw correct conclusions from the reports and comments by the bourgeois Press of our country mentioned above.

Rally by Mahila Sanskritik Sangha

(By a Staff Reporter)

On 7th June last a mammoth rally was organised by women belonging to 'Mahila Sanskritik Sangha'. The rally originated at Subodh Mallick Square, Calcutta, and went over to Writers Building to hand over a memorandum to the Chief Minister of West Bengal. The rally was held to protest against P. D. Act, P. V. A. Act, barbarous police atrocities, brutal assault on the refugees by C. R. P. on the land under the possession of Kalyani University, starting of false cases against the poor and landless peasants of South 24 Parganas and Birbhum and political murder in collusion with Police administration etc. etc.

A delegation under the leadership of Com. Pratiba Mukherji, the President of the 'Mahila Sanskritik Sangha, and M. L. A. of the West Bengal Legislature Assembly and comprising of Com. Badal Mukherji, Com. Usha Sen, Com. Arati Dana, Com. Yagamaya Mondal and Com. Maya Majumder met the Chief Ministers to hand over the memorandum.

On the Question of Arms Aid by Socialist States to Capitalist Countries

[Newspaper reports of the use of Chinese and Soviet arms by the Pak military rulers in suppressing the freedom fighters of Bangla Desh have annoyed greatly a section of common men of our country. They very often express doubt about the propriety of any arms aid being given on behalf of a socialist country to a capitalist country particularly when the latter maintains an open tie with imperialism or when the people of that country is engaged in a life and death battle against the state. Lack of political consciousness of the common men coupled with the anti-communist tirade let loose by different bourgeois agencies and the failure on the part of the so-called communist parties viz. the C. P. I. and the C. P. I. (M) to combat this tirade on a firm ideological ground have worsened the situation beyond comprehension.

In the past also we observed that a clear-cut understanding regarding the principle that should govern the question of arms aid by a socialist country had been seriously lacking. In 1968 similar confusion was created centring round the question of "*Pak-Soviet Arms Pact*" when our Party made certain observations on it. At that time not only the nationalist forces took recourse to spreading anti-communist slanderous campaign but the C. P. I. and the C. P. I. (M) also fell prey to narrow nationalism. While S. A. Dange, the C. P. I. leader pleaded for self-sufficiency in arms, P. Rammurthy, the C. P. I. (M) leader opposed Soviet arms aid to Pakistan on the ground that Pakistan did not play an anti-imperialist role which of course indirectly suggested that India was maintaining an anti-imperialist position since the C.P.I.(M) did not raise any objection in case of Soviet arms aid to India. Against such a background an article was published in our Bengali organ *Ganadabi* dated 18th August '68, the essential theme of which we reproduce below for the perusal of our readers. We are convinced that

the reiteration of the principles relating to the question of arms aid by a socialist country to the newly independent underdeveloped capitalist countries will be of much use under the conditions which obtain at present.—Ed.P.E.]

The socialist countries have been pursuing for a long time the policy of extending economic and even arms aid to the newly independent resurgent nationalist and underdeveloped capitalist countries under certain conditions. Now, some questions have been raised in this connection: (i) can the socialist countries afford to adopt a general policy of providing arms aid to the capitalist countries or not? (ii) should we not consider the question of arms aid to the capitalist countries by the socialist states justified only when they (the capitalist countries) are engaged in anti-imperialist struggles? These are some pertinent questions that have engaged the attention of the common people on this important issue. In fact, we strongly feel that it is urgently necessary to understand exhaustively the main object behind such arms aid being given by the socialist countries

to the newly independent underdeveloped capitalist countries.

The national bourgeoisie of every underdeveloped capitalist country feel the natural urge of independently developing her own economy as far as possible. But since the imperialists as a rule do not look with favour the independent economic development of the underdeveloped capitalist countries, the prospect of their independent economic development is sure to be seriously obstructed by the imperialists. Apart from it there also exists the competition between the underdeveloped capitalist and the imperialist countries centring round the question of their respective interest of stability of economy and control over the markets of different countries. This economic competition between these countries is increasing by leaps and bounds. In fact, this particular objective situation has prompted, the newly independent underdeveloped capitalist countries to develop economic relations with the socialist countries and follow a policy of bargain both against the socialist and the imperialist countries thus reaping maximum benefit from both the sides in their bid to develop their own economy as speedily as possible being free from any imperialist influence. The socialist countries too are not idle spectators of such a situation. They also try to take advantage of this situation by extending all possible help to the underdeveloped capitalist countries so that it may minimise their dependence on the imperialist countries and may ultimately create a cleavage in their relationship that would eventually weaken the imperialist-capitalist camp thus throwing to the winds the dream of the imperialists to impose their influence on the weaker countries, even if necessary by taking recourse to the path of war.

Under the circumstances if the socialist countries give up the policy of extending arms aid to the underdeveloped

capitalist countries then they will have no other alternative but to be completely dependent on and fall prey into the clutches of the imperialist countries. Such a situation, if developed, will help in the consolidation of the forces of reaction offering a serious offensive against the liberation struggles in different countries. The socialist countries, therefore, should always try to create a cleavage within the international camp of reaction by following this process of giving economic and other aids to the underdeveloped capitalist countries which would, although indirectly, be conducive to the growth and development of revolutionary struggle in these underdeveloped capitalist countries. Not only that; given proper revolutionary and bold leadership by the socialist camp it may also be possible to drag these aided capitalist countries to some extent against the attempt of the imperialist countries to intervene and crush the liberation struggles in these countries.

It is known to all of us that due to so many reasons the tendency of being armed to the teeth may develop among the ruling cliques of the capitalist countries. If the political consciousness of the masses of the people remains at a low level and the democratic movements in these countries manifest extreme internal weakness then it becomes objectively impossible to fight against this attempt of the ruling clique for armed self-sufficiency. Thus when such a capitalist country ultimately decides to equip herself with as much arms as possible then, in the absence of any help from socialist countries, she will have no other alternative but to surrender to the imperialists, to fall into their grip thus helping in the consolidation of the imperialist camp itself. Although it is admitted that generally the socialist countries should not in any way encourage the tendency of arms

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Arms Aid to Increase Rift Within Imperialist-Capitalist Camp

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race of these capitalist countries, but still then it may be necessary under certain conditions, only to avoid the worst situation, to extend arms aid to the capitalist countries by the socialist ones. Such a step is pregnant with dangerous consequences. No doubt, in that case also the extent of this danger may be minimised if the working people and the communist parties of the aided countries organise tremendous mass movements to stop this governmental policy of arms race. Not only this; if the communist parties of these capitalist countries fail to explain before the masses the real object of such arms aid being given by the socialist countries and organise the revolutionary movements of the masses, then it will naturally help to increase a tendency of militarism in these ruling circles and to consolidate the capitalist economy under the present position of international capitalism. And there is no denying the fact that this increased military might of these capitalist countries is sure to be ultimately used for crushing the revolutionary movement of the people. But the present leaders of C.P.I. (M) who were at one time the leaders of the undivided C.P.I. helped in the consolidation of Indian capitalism not only by not exposing the character of the Indian bourgeoisie before the masses but also by eulogising their foreign policy as progressive on the ground of their closeness with the socialist states. But the funniest part of the game is that, those leaders who gave in the Lok Sabha a blank cheque to the Indian capitalists in the matter of increasing the defence budget of the Government of India have now started opposing the "Pak-Soviet" arms pact, being swayed in the current of narrow nationalism; and to hide this very fact from the eyes of the people they have even

taken recourse to the deceptive path of raising hue and cry against the proposed Soviet arms aid to India as if they are really opposed to it. The essence of the so called revolutionary policy of these parties ultimately boils down to the fact that if the rulers of the reactionary capitalist state make serious endeavour to become militarily self-sufficient by imposing additional burden of taxes upon the half-fed and hungry people of our country then they find no ground of objection against it; this objection is raised only when such self-sufficiency in arms is sought to be attained through external help. It is really astonishing to find that in our country such things pass on as Marxism still today and a great section of intellectuals is patronising these Marxist parties by all means. Of course, there is nothing new in it that the C. P. I. (M) leadership will pose as nationalist and put the whole blame on the shoulders of these socialist countries only to shield their failure to build up the communist movement and their treacherous act against the democratic mass movements of this country.

Thus it is clear that the socialist countries may extend their hands of all-out economic co-operation to the capitalist countries knowing fully well that such help will strengthen the capitalist economic base (which is the root cause of the miseries of the common people). It is due to the same reason that it may become necessary on their part to help these capitalist countries even militarily which may not constitute any departure from Marxism. Rather, given proper revolutionary outlook such countries which are getting arms aid from the socialist countries may be made to act against the imperialist countries.

It is known to all of us that the foreign policy of

Pakistan has started showing some signs of perceptible change from the date she developed relation with China. In spite of remaining under the full subjugation of the USA and being a member of the imperialist military organisation SEATO for a long time, Pakistan, a very weak state, has been made to directly oppose the American policy in Vietnam. On the contrary, those capitalist countries which are not to that extent weak but receiving Soviet aid, including country like India, are not any longer pursuing any anti-imperialist role. Rather on a number of occasions they are acting, although indirectly, in a manner to implement the American policy in Vietnam. So, it must be admitted that there should not be any ground of objection in such arms aid if it is possible to create a cleavage in the imperialist-capitalist camp, to drag these aided newly independent, underdeveloped capitalist countries against the imperialists which may create condition conducive to the growth and development of revolutionary movement in these countries. The real danger lies in the fact that the present revisionist leadership of the USSR has completely failed to grasp and even deviated from the revolutionary significance of the policy of peaceful co-existence.

Following the path of capitulation to the imperialists which was manifested in the foreign policy of USSR since the time of Khrushchev the anti-imperialist freedom struggle of the colonial countries and the liberation struggle of the exploited people of different countries have reached a state of *detente* resulting in the prolongation of these battles thus suffering from tremendous losses being unable to achieve immediate victories. If the international communist movement could have been led under a correct revolutionary

leadership then it would have been possible to corner the crisis-ridden, gasping imperialism by making the liberation struggles of different countries victorious on the one hand and eliminating very rapidly the danger of war on the other. But the wrong policy of the Soviet leadership is not only making these struggles protracted thus offering fresh lease of life to imperialism-capitalism but is also objectively encouraging the imperialists to rush in order to suppress the liberation struggles of different countries. Thus when the Soviet Union on her part has failed to adopt a bold step against imperialism it is futile to talk of dragging those capitalist countries against imperialism which are aided by the Soviet Union. Secondly, as a result of serious deterioration of Sino-Soviet relationship, the Soviet leadership is indulging in an anti-communist code of conduct and is seriously attempting to expand her own sphere of influence even at the cost of China's influence, prestige and position. There is no secrecy in it and even it has been made public by the Soviet leaders themselves. It is quite likely that such an attitude might have prompted Soviet Union to establish contact with Pakistan and give her arms aid. If this assumption has at all any bearing it will simply provide Pakistan with an opportunity to use this contradiction to her advantage which will simply strengthen the military might of Pakistan.

Thus not only the question of dragging Pakistan in anti-imperialist struggle will not arise, this Soviet help to Pakistan will ultimately help to serve the purpose of the imperialists under the present circumstances. So whatever may be the arguments put forward by the Soviet Union behind this arms aid to Pakistan, the manner in which the whole thing is being conducted in the present circumstances is definitely detrimental to the interest of the legitimate democratic movements of both Pakistan and India which the conscious people of our country should come forward to resist.

Central T. U. Conference at Delhi

(By a Staff Reporter)

New Delhi: A conference of the principal Central Trade Union organisations and national federations of Trade Unions not affiliated to any central Trade Union organisation was held at New Delhi on 18th and 19th of May last.

The meeting began with the unanimous election of a Presidium consisting of Coms. S. A. Dange, S. C. C. Anthony Pillai, Manoranjan Roy, Subodh Banerjee and Sushil Bhattacharyya. They represented A. I. T. U. C., H. M. S., C. I. T. U., U. T. U. C. (Lenin Sarani) and the other U. T. U. C. respectively.

The conference unanimously adopted an agenda for discussion. It included an assessment of the situation confronting the trade union in our country in general and particularly the questions of wages, prices, production and productivity, unemployment, closures and lock-outs, recognition of unions by the employers, method of settlement of industrial disputes machinery for settling disputes etc. etc.

The U. T. U. C. (Lenin Sarani) was represented by Coms. Subodh Banerjee, Pritish Chanda, Fatick Ghosh, Sankar Saha and Amal Kargupta.

Com. Banerjee in his speech strongly criticised the Government's decision to invite some paper organisations and the anti-labour slant of the note prepared by the Ministry to serve as the basis for discussion in the conference convened by the Government. He strongly condemned the recent move by the Central Government and the employers to freeze wages or link wages with productivity. He also urged upon the different trade unions to develop united movements on common issues on industry basis at plant level, particularly in view of the mounting attacks by the Government and the employers

on the living and working conditions of the workers. He demanded immediate stoppage of police repression and withdrawal of repressive laws on trade union workers and legitimate democratic trade union movements. He concluded by saying that the Government move to ban strikes must be foiled by united movement of the workers.

The conference passed a condolence resolution on the death of the veteran trade union leader, Mr. Devan Sen and adopted a declaration. It was decided that the representatives would again meet sometime in July next. The INTUC sent an observe to the conference. Though no representative from the HMP attended the conference its General Secretary informed the representatives of his full agreement with the decisions of the conference.

Orissa Cement Central Budget Workers' Meeting

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in the matter of principle could regain in the majority in Parliament because of the confusion created amongst the masses on the one hand by the unreserved support given by the CPI and the CPI (M) to bank nationalisation and other issues and their projecting the image of Mrs Indira Gandhi as progressive, and on the other the J. S. and the Swatantra branding her as a Communist.

He also exposed the opportunistic trade union movement of the P. S. P. and the sectarian movement of the Jharkhand Party. He urged upon the workers to realise the cause of this oppression and to be united under the banner of the S. U. C. I., the real working class party, for the emancipation of the working class.

In the resolution moved by Mr. Baithern, along with others demands, the recognition of Bangladesh by Indian Government was also demanded.

Comrade B. Jena, Secretary Sundargarh Dist. Committee, S. U. C. I., and General Secretary of the O. C. Workers Union presided over the meeting.

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hands that indirect taxes like excise duties do not hit the manufacturers and the trading communities at all, inasmuch as they shift the burden of taxation on to the shoulders of the consumers who in these cases constitute mainly the middle and the lower class people.

Apart from this direct burden of increased and new taxation the budget keeps a gap about Rs. 220 crores and this is bound to have an inflationary effect on the economy of the country. The uncovered gap of Rs. 220 crores is, of course, a gross understatement. It is bound to go up. In other words it means that there would be massive deficit financing which is sure to still further lower the already low purchasing power of the rupee, make the prices of essential commodities shoot up and hit our common men hard, particularly those who have a fixed income.

There is nothing to be astonished at these measures by Sm. Gandhi, Mr Chavan and their Government. It is a Government wedded to the tasks of safeguarding the aggregate interests of Indian monopoly capitalism. The rosy picture of egalitarian society and the tail talks of Garibi Hatao are only a cloak to conceal its real character, be-fool the toiling millions and enlist their support behind the Congress (R) and her Government. The sooner our people realise this reality and get rid of their illusion about Sm. Gandhi, her Congress and her Government as progressive, the better is for them. Without such disillusionment, their conditions of living and their hard won democratic rights cannot be maintained and safeguarded, let alone accelerating their just struggle for liberation from all sorts of exploitation of man by man.

Observe June 19 as BANGLADESH DAY

In response to the decision of the meeting of the different Central Trade Union Organisations held in Delhi the U. T. U. C. (Lenin Sarani) calls upon the Indian working class to observe June 19 next as Bangladesh Day. On this day the workers in our country should express their solidarity with the people of Bangladesh fighting for national independence by holding meetings and bringing out processions etc. Com. Fatick Ghosh, Secretary, U. T. U. C. (Lenin Sarani) has issued a statement in this regard.